Build a Labor Party Now!

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SWP in Michigan Files Petitions For Fall Election

DETROIT, March 29 — The Socialist Workers Party this week successfully completed its petition campaign to secure a place on the Michigan ballot for the November elections. Nearly 16,000 signatures were filed after an intensive eight-week campaign, and the Secretary of State certified the party to appear on the November ballot. The SWP was the first of the minority parties to file this year.

The job of getting on the ballot this year was far more difficult than in 1952 because 50% more signatures were required. Yet the campaign was completed in less than half the previous time.

COURT VICTORY

Filing of the SWP petitions this year is proof that a successful campaign can be waged against the witch hunters. The thought-control Trucks Laws, passed by the Michigan legislature in 1952, was used in an attempt to bar the SWP from the ballot that year. Our appearance on the ballot in 1954 underscores the victory the SWP recently won in the courts against that reactionary law.

The success of the petition campaign was made possible only by hard work, enthusiasm, and receptivity among the workers. The election laws in Michigan are designed to make it very difficult for minority parties to appear on the state ballot. This year a minimum of 14,463 signatures had to be obtained throughout the state, the bulk of them during the difficult winter months.

The gathering of so many signatures required daily work, both by those who could devote full time to the campaign and by those who first had to put in a full day in the shop. Signatures were gathered everywhere, in shopping areas during the day, from people waiting in bus lines after work, and house to house when stormy weather made petitioning outdoors impossible.

WARM RESPONSE

Crews of petitioners traveled throughout the state. Best response was in industrial centers where increasing unemployment and continued high cost of living have caused widespread disillusionment with both the Democrats and Republicans. Most signatures were obtained in Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Saginaw, Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Battle Creek, and Kalamazoo. Even in smaller towns such as Monroe, Bay City, Ferndale, Jackson, Ann Arbor, and Ypsilanti, petitioners gathered more signatures per hour than in any previous year.

The statewide average ran 30 signatures an hour. Top-notch signature-getters consistently got between 40-50 signatures an hour. One of the high points of the campaign was the day one worker gathered 140 signatures in only two hours. That was over a signature a minute!

Such results were impossible in previous campaigns when the working class was silent under the attack of the witch hunters.

Our work in this petition campaign has clearly shown that the political climate is changing. We noticed this first hand, as a result of personally speaking to thousands upon thousands of people in all walks of life.

Almost everyone who spoke to us complained first of unemployment and second of McCarthyism. This reflects the growing concern over unemployment, war, and fascism, and a growing discontent with the ruling political parties. The working people are today searching for a solution to these problems.

The Socialist Workers Party has a solution and its election campaign in Michigan this fall will permit us to bring it to the attention of great numbers of people.

'Workers' Party? Sure, I'll Sign!'

The most common response when someone was asked to sign a petition to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Michigan was, "For a workers' party? Sure, I'll sign!"

Many people, still intimidated by the witch hunt, were afraid to put their names to any type of petition. But those who signed because the party was socialist balanced those who refused because it was socialist.

One man who wouldn't sign graphically formulated the reason motivating this whole grouping: "I'm afraid McCarthy is looking over my shoulder."

In contrast to this were many who insisted like one woman while signing: "Something's got to be done about this McCarthy. He's ruining our country!"

G.O.P., Democrats Conspire To Bury Probe of McCarthy

Latest Atomic Weapons Can Destroy Mankind

By Joseph Keller

"This week, as atomic ash from a mid-Pacific explosion of over three weeks before drifted down on the Japanese islands . . ." is the way the March 27 Christian Science Monitor begins an article on "Portents of Atomic Age."

Only by such bits of information, almost casually slipped into the daily press, is the world catastrophic nature of the new U.S. H-bombs being unveiled to the American people.

This is not government information, incidentally. It is information, given out by Japanese scientists, that Washington was unable to suppress. Thus do we find out that the mass murder weapon, now being demonstratively "tested" just prior to the Geneva conference, can spread lethal radiations not only 1,600 miles in space but over weeks in time.

Nevertheless, the Wall Street Journal, in a March 29 editorial, describes the world-wide terror that has arisen from disclosure of the H-bomb menace as "Hydrogen Hysteria" and "not wholly rational reactions."

But the American people, along with the rest of the world, have every reason to quake in their boots at the thought of continuation of these "tests." This is indicated in the very press conference remarks of Eisenhower on March 24. He let slip "that something must have happened at the recent hydrogen explosion in the Pacific which surprised and astonished scientists." (Associated Press.)

From other sources we can piece together what "astonished" scientists. Representative Chet Holifield (D., Cal.) as part of an official report to a House-Senate committee disclosed that "the unexpected radiation exposure was a result of (a) a larger explosion than expected and (b) unpredictable wind shifts at high altitudes."

In short, we are face to face with a weapon whose power is no longer precisely predictable and whose deadliness can not be accurately directed.

RADIATION DANGER

We are no longer dealing with the first and "baby" H-bomb exploded at Eniwotek on Nov. 1, 1952, which merely "completely obliterated the test island" and "tore a cavity in the floor of the ocean — a crater a full mile in diameter and 175 feet in depth . . ." as revealed a year later by Congressman W. Sterling Cole, (R., N.Y.), chairman of the joint Congressional atomic energy committee.

The danger to the world at large from the latest bombs set off in the mid-Pacific is indicated by a March 30 Tokyo dispatch of the Associated Press. It reports that Japanese health officials "condemned as harmfully radioactive last night the 80,000-pound tuna catch of a fishing boat that was 200 miles away from the March 1 blast." **They were "still pondering whether to condemn" the catch of another boat showing evidence of radiation "although it was 780 miles away from the blast."**

FALSE INFORMATION

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission tried to counteract the reports of the radiation-burned Japanese seamen by disclosing

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World Terrorized By H-Bomb Tests

By Art Preis

Humanity is staring horrified at this country, like people locked in a room with a mad man playing catch with a bottle of TNT.

The grotesque spectacle of Prime Minister Winston Churchill blubbering before the House of Commons on March 23, when he spoke of the "stupendous problems and perils" of the new H-bomb exploded by the U.S. in the Pacific, gives a hint of the revulsion, horror and fear this weapon of world annihilation has aroused in American imperialism's friends as well as its foes.

"His voice breaking with emotion and tears welling in his eyes" is the way the March 24 N.Y. Herald-Tribune described the thick-skinned old war-horse, who has imperturbably sent millions to their death for the glory of the Empire, when he contemplated the future facing England. The report added that he was "rather unstable and did not have himself entirely in hand."

"TOTAL DEVASTATION"

This vilest and most cold-blooded leader of the British imperialist ruling class could not contain his emotions because he realizes that an H-bomb war will mean "total devastation of the British Isles . . . one of the United States' principal air bases from which hydrogen and atomic bombs could be hurled against Russia," as the Tribune's London correspondent puts it.

Even the British capitalists are horrified at the thought that there won't "always be an England," that their lands and great mansions will become uninhabitable, and that they won't have even the English people to exploit, let alone a large slice of the rest of the globe. **For the British Isles, caught in an H-bomb cross-fire, would become nothing but a pile of barren radio-active rocks jutting from the lonely seas.**

"THE DUST OF DEATH"

A Laborite member of Parliament, Harold Davies, describes in the March 26 Socialist Outlook the effect of a single H-Bomb dropped off Britain's West Coast: "One such bomb as that exploded in the Pacific Ocean last week, if dropped off the West Coast of Britain, would, taking into account the ocean currents and the prevailing winds, make the entire West of the British Isles a danger spot. **The winds would bring the dust of death.** (Original emphasis.)

"In our tiny seas the Gulf Drift would carry the radio-active water all around our shores. **All fish caught off Britain would be inedible!** (Original emphasis.)

"As for the use of the navy? Well you see what they had to do with the Japanese fishing boat that was eighty miles away from the blast — destroy it because it was a death-trap for humans.

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Hunger in America

When starving children began fainting in school at Nipomo Mesa, Calif., it was learned that dozens of families at the migrant labor camp where they lived were without food, denied relief because of residence requirements. Top, 21-month old Mildred Dalton in her tent home clutches can of Red Cross food; below, migrant family pose outside their tent.

Give Cover As Fascist Retreats

By Joseph Hansen

MARCH 31— The Republican-Democratic opposition to McCarthy is deliberately abetting the fascist Senator in wriggling out of the reeking scandal over his brazen efforts to infiltrate the top brass of the armed forces. They want to bury the probe. This is the meaning of the assistance Wall Street's cynical political machines are obligingly giving the calculating American student of Hitler in prying open the jaws of an investigation which the liberals at first took to be a steel trap.

The McCarthy subcommittee voted March 16 to probe the sensational charges levelled by the Army about the special favors sought by McCarthy and his counsel Cohn for their crony Schine. Today, more than two weeks later, the subcommittee has not even selected a lawyer to conduct the investigation!

That's the same committee that customarily flies across the country to stage one-man, one-day "probes" of alleged "communists" in which batches of victims are smeared, badgered, pilloried, fired from their jobs and converted into community pariahs. Now, when it comes to investigating the fascist Grand Inquisitor himself, the gears of the Senate's high-powered witch-hunting machine prove to be lubricated with sand and molasses.

The first assist the Democrats and Republicans gave the Wisconsin fascist was to put the official rubber-stamp of their approval on his brazen demand that his own committee conduct the "probe." **That meant that control of the investigation was left in the capable hands of his own tested lieutenants.**

Then while McCarthy flew to his home territory to reassure his mass base, mend his fences, and prepare the counter-attack, they lifted their hands helplessly about getting going with the "probe." After all, what could these gentlemen do about another member of the "gentlemen's club" officially known as the U.S. Senate, if he refused to cooperate by cancelling his $1,500 speaking engagements? And after all, wasn't the gentleman on the run? That was assist No. 2.

When McCarthy returned to Washington, Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R., So. Dak.), who is temporarily acting as chairman for McCarthy, expertly pinch-hitted for the star player while the Democratic and Republican opposition dropped flat on their faces and played dead.

"TOO CONTROVERSIAL"

At first Mundt tried to get William J. Jameson, head of the American Bar Association, to act as special counsel. Jameson declined March 22. Reason: Subject of probe "too controversial." That was assist No. 3.

Mundt continued "desperately" and even "embarrassedly" to get a distinguished substitute. It was not revealed until March 29, one week later, that the subcommittee was "throwing away all applications" of distinguished substitutes for the job turned down by Jameson. (N.Y. Times, March 30.) That was assist No. 4.

In the same issue, the N.Y. Times saw fit to print the news that "The criteria drawn for a special counsel has been viewed widely in Congress as being so severe that it might be impossible to get a man to meet all of its qualifications . . ." But up to then, the 96 Democratic and Republican Senators and 435 Democratic and Republican Congressmen had publicly kept their mouths tightly buttoned about these "widely" held opinions. That was assist No. 5.

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CAMPUS MOVEMENT OPPOSES M'CARTHYISM

The Green Feather movement, an expression of student opposition to McCarthyism, is spreading in the Midwest. The latest demonstration took place on the campus of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on March 23.

The movement began at Indiana University after a member of State Textbook Commission denounced the story of Robin Hood as "pro-Communistic" and demanded that it be banned from schoolbooks.

This led to the formation of a group which called itself "Robin Hoods Merry Men" and began wearing and distributing green feathers as a symbol of their resistance to thought-control.

The movement then spread to Purdue and Wisconsin universities, where green feathers were passed out to be worn by those who "are concerned about Senator McCarthy's threat to freedom" and "the growing trend to stabilize men's thinking in this country."

Both students and townspeople got together in Ann Arbor to collect feathers and dye them green. The Michigan Daily's lead editorial backed the distribution. So did a majority of the Student Activities Committee.

Students and faculty members flocked around booths at which 20 students handed out green feathers and asbestos book markers. The asbestos strips, bearing the words "Books burn at 451 degrees," were a symbol of opposition to book-burning. The stock of 4,000 feathers was gone by noon.

Another manifestation of anti-McCarthyism that is catching hold on some campuses is the "We Believe Benton" movement. This started after McCarthy, afraid to go into court with his libel suit against former Senator Benton, announced that he was withdrawing it because his lawyers couldn't find anyone who believe Benton's charges against the Wisconsin fascist.

Six students at Indiana University "who have no partisan political affiliations," set out to ask peole if they would be willing to sign and contribute money to the publication of a simple "We Believe Benton" statement. **In two days they had 131 signatures, which they published on a sheet the size of a newspaper page. They reported that they were "gratified and amazed by the response but were forced to discontinue collecting signatures after two days because the clerical work was becoming too involved for the six of us."**

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

The announcement of the filing of petitions in the State of Michigan and our certification for the ballot (see story above) is the big news in the Anti-Fascist campaign this week. The Party nationally salutes the hard work of our Michigan section and celebrates with them its victory.

Pennsylvania is close to the conclusion of its petition work. According to last reports received, only several hundred additional signatures were required.

The $14,000 Fund Drive nears its half-way mark. Four branches are ahead of schedule this week with more than 46% of their quotas in. Congratulations go to the Pittsburgh comrades who jumped from eleventh position last week to fourth place in the scoreboard. Carl Miner writes "Hope the campaign is going well everywhere."

With a $50 payment on Youngstown's quota, we are told the good news that they have recruited two new members and have the prospect of recruiting "two more before the month of April is over. Work on the unemployment question is taking a lot of our time and this field will be very fruitful for us in the period ahead."

It is too early yet to record scores in the Literature campaign for many of the branches. Plans have been laid out and work begun almost everywhere. Vincent Dunne writes from Minneapolis: "We are planning a Twin Cities expedition to McCarthy's home state to sell the anti-McCarthy pamphlet and other literature. We have been quite successful in our plans before trade unions and other gatherings of working class groups."

We were very glad to hear from an old friend in Connecticut from whom we haven't heard for some time. Recognizing the need for the fight against fascism, he has ordered 50 copies of the anti-McCarthy pamphlets.

Dick Carter writes from St. Louis: "Tuesday I showed a friend

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"Do a Frisco Job On Witch Hunt," Weiss Urges

By R. Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, March 27. —The militant work stoppage of San Francisco's longshoremen last December that chased Congressman Velde's witch-hunting committee out of town left a deep imprint on workers throughout the country, declared Murry Weiss at a meeting here last night.

"All over the country, in every city I have visited, thinking workers have pointed to the San Francisco method of fighting the witch hunt," said the Socialist Workers Party National Committee member, now on a nation-wide anti-McCarthy speaking tour. "Their action is regarded as a model to follow. The slogan of these politically conscious workers is 'Let's do a Frisco job on the witch hunters when they come to our town.'"

The speaker's contention that a full-scale economic crisis is one of the pre-conditions for fascism coming to power was underscored for his audience by the local press. On the day that Weiss arrived here the papers reported that steel production is now down to 66.8% of capacity. "This tremendous drop of a third of the productive capacity in the steel industry," he said, "underlines and points up the crisis facing the capitalist class of this country today."

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWING

Denying any desire to be classified as a "gloom and doom prophet," the speaker said that he had witnessed the growth of unemployment all over the country.

"Not only is unemployment growing," he said, "but the government is trying to hide the true picture. Those who are not covered by social security, such as the millions of farm workers and domestics are not even counted. Nor do they take into account the cutting of the work

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Economists Don't Talk of Upturn

Eisenhower is beginning to sound like Truman during 1949-50 "recession" when the latter said on Feb. 14, 1950: "A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times; this is healthy for the economic body."

Confronted with the government's own figures of nearly four million jobless (the number is actually well over five million), Eisenhower on March 24 said he saw no reason for any "slam-bang" government emergency action, such as public works, to combat unemployment.

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, echoing Truman directly, said he considers unemployment of four million a "relatively low figure."

Unemployment is continuing to increase, although at a slightly slower rate than in January and February. Official unemployment figures for March are not available yet, but we have reports on new claims for unemployment compensation. For the week ending March 13, new claims totalled 310,606; for the week ending March 20, 293,706. That's more than 600,000 in two weeks — scarcely a cause for jubilation.

Moreover, a new figure has been added to the statistical picture of the decline. The total number of part-time workers, according to government figures, rose between December and February from eight million to eleven million. That gives an idea of how many workers have had their take-home pay slashed.

EASTER EGG

But no one is giving out any more predictions about an "upturn" on any definite date, except Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, who gave out one of his usual bold statements about a pick-up in April — which is about as close as you can come to a sure bet on such matters, since Easter buying will be delayed this year because of the late Easter date, April 18.

But aside from the comments of this clown, who was quoted in most papers back near the obituaries, the more serious economic forecasters are extremely cautious about predicting any real upturn, at least in the near future.

Commenting on certain vague signs that have been pointed to as "some encouragement on business conditions," the "Financial Week" columnist in the March 28 N.Y. Times observes: "As the first quarter neared its end, however, it was evident that the period would show rather sharp declines in the operations of three key industries — steel, automotive and railroads, compared with levels of the first three months of 1953. Thus far this year, steel output is down about 23% from that of 1953; automotive production is off about 9% and railroad freight carloadings are almost 13% lower."

STILL "GRUMBLING"

The March 27 Business Week admits that "it's too early . . . to expect a general turnaround. Numerous basic lines — notably steel — still are grumbling about the failure of the expected orders to appear. Inventories were larger than a lot of people were willing to admit, and the 'adjustment' isn't over."

Just how bad the situation is in basic steel is indicated by the March 28 Times report from Pittsburgh that output of steel is now running at only 66.5% of capacity as compared to the low rate (except for a strike period) of 71% of capacity in 1949. There was "little room," said the report, "for expecting steel capacity to show much of a significant upward trend in the near future."

As for the auto industry, which consumes something like 20% of the country's steel, it shows no signs of improvement. Output for the week, as reported on March 26, fell 3% from the previous week and 15% below last year's comparable figure. While production for the quarter fell below only 1953 and 1951, a March 24 Associated Press dispatch from Detroit reminds us that while this is "good, productionwise," actual "retail deliveries will probably total up to considerably less than third best . . . retail deliveries still are considerably below factory output."

And while CIO and United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther puts the knife to the demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay and talks up his phony "guaranteed annual wage plan" of a 30 hour week at 30 hours' pay and only for those with top seniority, the March 29 Wall St. Journal finds:

"Despite the much heralded arrival of spring for its expected upturn in (auto) sales, the rise in sales has so far not been up to the anticipations. Car production may easily follow a 'now up, now down' pattern for many months."

Notebook of an Agitator

First Principles in the Struggle Against Fascism

The honorable Joseph McCarthy is not much of a thinker himself, but he has certainly stimulated a lot of thought, or what passes for it, in the minds of others.

His unbridled aggressiveness in recent months has stirred up quite a fluttering in the dovecotes of so-called liberalism. The pontifical pundits, who yesterday thought the specter could be exorcised by ridicule, or by pretending not to notice it, are now deep-thinking second thoughts about the Wisconsin demagogue and what he stands for.

Some apprehension of the deadly seriousness of McCarthyism has even begun to dawn in the thick skulls of the official labor leaders, and that alone is testimony to its penetrating power. It is now widely recognized that if the Wisconsin demagogue is crazy, he is crazy like a fox, and has to be taken seriously.

It would also seem that the liberals, and the labor leaders who farm out their thinking to the liberals, are catching up with the SWP, as far as the definition of McCarthyism is concerned. Lately we see more and more references to McCarthy as an American Hitler. For example, Adlai Stevenson, who cannot justly be called an extremist, referred to McCarthy in his Miami speech as the apostle of a "malign totalitarianism."

Poles Apart

But we are still poles apart from the liberals and the labor skates on the main question; that is, the analysis of the causes of this preliminary manifestation of a "malign totalitarianism" — the Stevensonian euphemism for fascism — and the program for struggle against it.

They all regard our revolutionary approach to the question as extreme and unrealistic. The unrealism, however, is on their side, because they separate McCarthyism from the social causes which have generated it, and which in fact, make such manifestations inevitable. If McCarthy did not exist American capitalism would have to invent him, or a reasonable facsimile.

In every great social struggle, those who understand its laws and foresee how it must develop according to those laws, have a big advantage over those who deal with surface manifestations. If the Socialist Workers Party has been the first and only group in American political life to state categorically that the rise of a fascist movement in the United States is an absolute certainty; and likewise the first to recognize McCarthyism as the preliminary manifestation of American fascism, and to call it by its right name — this was not guesswork in either case.

Main Point

Our approach to the question of American fascism, as to every other political issue, begins with and proceeds from a basic theory of American perspectives which is different from that of all other political parties and tendencies. That is not because we deny America's exceptional position in the world today. It is known, and has been said often enough, that American capitalism is in a different position from other sectors of the same world system in other countries. I am even willing to repeat it once again if such reassurance will do anybody any good. But there are points of similarity as well as of difference, and the former are more important than the latter. That is the main point.

The American capitalists are richer and stronger than their counterparts in other lands. They are also younger and more ignorant, and therefore more inclined to seek a rough settlement of difficulties without diplomatic subtlety and finesse. All that does not change the fact that American capitalism operates according to the same laws as the others, is confronted with the same fundamental problems, and is headed toward the same catastrophe.

Of all the mistakes that can be made, in judging the nature and prospects of the present social system in this country — and it is safe to predict that the American labor leaders, being what they are, will exhaust every possibility in this respect — the worst and most disorienting mistake is to regard American capitalism as **fundamentally** different; as immune from the operation of the same laws which determine the evolution and development of the same social system — through crisis, revolution and counter-revolution — in other countries.

This pernicious theory of "American exceptionalism," which seized the leadership of the American Communist Party in the latter days of the great boom of the Twenties, disoriented the party in the great crisis which exploded soon afterward. This same theory, which is today held by the entire labor officialdom, is what disarms the American workers at the present time more than anything else, and gives the preliminary movement of American fascism such an easy advantage in the beginning.

Our Concept

We Trotskyists never belonged to this school of "exceptionalism." In 1946, right at the time when the editorial spokesmen of American capitalism were proclaiming the advent of "The American Century," and the American labor leaders were adjusting their so-called thinking to this illusory prospect, the Socialist Workers Party outlined a different and more realistic perspective for this country. The "Theses on the American Revolution," adopted by the party Convention in that year, expressed its conception in the very first paragraph, as follows:

"The United States, the most powerful capitalist country in history, is a component part of the world capitalist system and is subject to the same general laws. It suffers from the same incurable diseases and is destined to share the same fate. The overwhelming preponderance of American imperialism does not exempt it from the decay of world capitalism, but, on the contrary, acts to involve it ever more deeply, inextricably and hopelessly. U.S. capitalism can no more escape from the revolutionary consequences of world capitalist decay than the older European capitalist powers. **The blind alley in which world capitalism has arrived, and the U.S. with it, excludes a new organic era of capitalist stabilization. The dominant world position of American imperialism now accentuates and aggravates the death agony of capitalism as a whole.**"

This formulation of American perspectives, which governs all the work of the party, determines its analysis of McCarthyism as the incipient stage of American fascism; its categorical assertion that this movement will grow bigger, stronger and more cohesive with the development of the oncoming crisis; and its program for the struggle against it.

Well Prepared

Some such manifestation as the present McCarthy movement was foreseen; and it needed only to make its appearance and score some initial successes, as it has manifestly done since the Brownell-Truman affair, for the party to react with its counter-campaign of agitation. The fact that the party members have recognized the necessity of the campaign, and responded to it with unanimous participation, is a sign that they were prepared for it by a long previous period of doctrinal education.

I speak of our view of American fascism as a doctrine; for we consider it a matter of principle that the war prosperity of U.S. capitalism has been sick with a latent crisis from the start; and that this crisis is bound, sooner or later, to explode with devastating fury. **This exploding crisis is certain to produce two antagonistic phenomena: a fascist movement on the one side, and a radicalized labor movement on the other.**

The same social crisis which poses the threat of revolution in each and every capitalist country without exception, likewise generates the attempt to head off such a revolution by means which ruthlessly break down all the old forms of democratic rule. An organized fascist movement is an imperative necessity to the ruling class in every modern capitalist state threatened with social revolution; and is, in fact, a reflexive answer to it. In this view, the fascist movement is not something arbitrarily created by demagogues, to be talked down by appeals to reason and an alliance of all men of good will. Fascism is organized counter-revolution.

There is no law which forbids such a counter-revolutionary movement to get under way before the prospect and threat of revolution is clearly evident to all. A social revolution is immanent in the present position of American capitalism, and so is the counter-revolution. McCarthyism, as the first definite preliminary manifestation of the counter-revolutionary movement, does not lose this basic characteristic simply because it is a **preventive** mobilization against a revolution which has not yet taken visible form.

McCarthyite fascism has its cause and origin in the crisis of a social system which is pregnant with a revolution; and, is in fact, the preliminary form of a preventive counter-revolution. A general hue and cry against McCarthyism won't amount to much until this is recognized.

— James P. Cannon

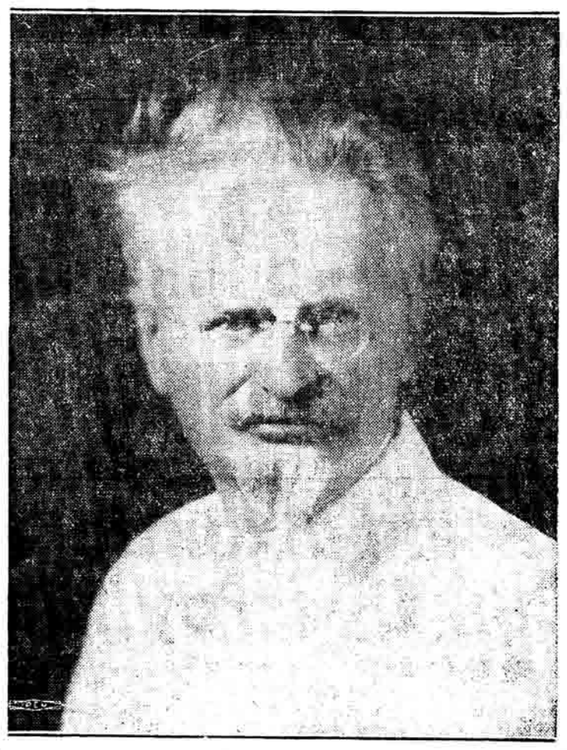
A Slick Distortion about Trotsky and Lenin

By George Breitman

Isaac Deutscher, author of a new biography of Leon Trotsky (The Prophet Armed) wants to prove that he is more "objective" than Trotsky and has more to offer to students of Russian revolutionary history. To support this claim, he points to the controversies between Trotsky and Lenin between 1903 and 1917. He cannot accuse Trotsky of suppressing the facts about these controversies, so he accuses him of having "blurred" their sharp outlines and importance.

What are the facts?

Trotsky met Lenin in London in 1902 and worked closely with him until the 1903 congress of the Russian revolutionary party which ended in a split and the formation of the Bolshevik and Menshevik parties. Trotsky, not yet 24 years old, failed to understand the significance of the dispute and the necessity for the kind of party Lenin was trying to build. He went with the Mensheviks, and attacked Lenin vigorously.



Leon Trotsky

THE 1903 SPLIT

The Mensheviks differed from the Bolsheviks not only over internal organizational principles but also, it began to be clear, over theoretical and political perspectives for the Russian revolution. When they started moving toward an alliance with the liberal capitalists, Trotsky broke with them and began to move in the direction of the Bolsheviks, who were as hostile to such an alliance as he was.

But his return to Lenin's side was delayed by a number of complications. For one thing, Trotsky developed the theory of the permanent revolution, which forecast that a revolution against Czarism would quickly be turned into a workers revolution that would lead to the establishment of a working class government faced with socialist tasks. It took some years for even Lenin to grasp the correctness of this daring conception, although it was not a basic conflict with his own.

Another complication was that the Mensheviks vacillated back and forth between the perspectives of revolution and reform, especially under the impact of the 1905 revolution. This led to numerous proposals for reuniting the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, which at times Lenin himself supported, and which was actually tried unsuccessfully. Trotsky, although moving closer to the Bolsheviks politically, favored unification of the two groups and worked for it until 1912 in the belief that the revolutionary wing would be predominant in a united party.

HISTORIC CONTEXT

In the light of everything he stood and fought for from 1917 on, Trotsky's conciliationist efforts are hard to understand today unless they are examined in their historic context. Lenin had begun to build a new kind of party, whose like had never existed before, a revolutionary combat party fit to lead the workers in taking power. His genius was proved in 1917, when his party fulfilled precisely the mission it had set itself. But it should not be too surprising that other great Marxists, lacking historic working class models to base themselves on, at first mistook the meaning and purpose of Lenin's pioneering work.

When World War I began, Trotsky realized that it would be wrong in principle as well as impossible to unite the pro-war Mensheviks and the anti-war Bolsheviks. On his return to revolutionary Russia in 1917, he found himself and Lenin in complete agreement on the tasks of the revolution; he also saw now that Lenin's ideas on revolutionary organization had been completely confirmed by the test of events, and that the Bolsheviks were the only revolutionary party in the country.

He then became a Bolshevik in heart, mind and soul, played a role in the Bolshevik leadership of the revolution second only to Lenin's, and defended Bolshevism to his dying day.

TROTSKY'S ANSWER

After Lenin's death the Stalinists launched their big slander campaign by quoting Trotsky's pre-1917 polemics against Lenin to prove that he had never really been a Bolshevik. Trotsky's answer was not to "blur" the differences, as Deutscher claims, but to present them in their proper perspective.

Trotsky neither concealed nor denied his early differences with Lenin. He stated what they had been and explained them. Distinguishing between those of his differences with Lenin which had been serious and genuine and those which had been episodic and due partly to misunderstandings on both sides, he admitted where he had been wrong and why (such as in his criticism of Lenin's organizational principles and in his efforts to reunite the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) and defended the positions on which he had been correct (such as his theory of the permanent revolution, which Lenin accepted in action in 1917).

That is, he examined his relations with Lenin in their totality, and assigned the different parts of their proper sphere and rank. Objectively viewed, the earlier disagreements were far outweighed by the later agreements. If this was not the case, the agreements could never have taken place. The subordinate, transitory character of the disagreements was demonstrated by everything that happened later, including the close and loyal collaboration between Trotsky and Lenin from 1917 on. Lenin himself testified to this by observing that no one had been a better Bolshevik than Trotsky after he joined.

DEUTSCHER'S VIEW

Deutscher, however, is not satisfied with this method or this evaluation, although he does not challenge it directly and in places even pays lip-service to it. In the guise of objective historian he devotes a great deal of space to the early differences — as much space, or more, as he gives to the later agreements between Trotsky and Lenin. The result is to make the differences and the agreements assume an equal importance on the historical scale.

We all know that it is possible to tell a lie while using strictly truthful words, depending on the tone, the arrangement of the words, the words omitted, etc. In the same way Deutscher, even if everything he writes on the differences is factually correct, lends himself to what can only be called a historical distortion —the kind which the Stalinists, who dislike Deutscher on other grounds, can only welcome.

In part, as we have explained, Deutscher does this in an effort to establish his superior "objectivity" over Trotsky. But there is another and more important reason — a political reason — for the emphasis he puts on Trotsky's early differences with Bolshevism.

And that is the fact that he obviously half-sympathizes with the criticism of Bolshevism that Trotsky later rejected and attacked.

HIS OWN SYMPATHIES

Naturally Deutscher doesn't express his sympathies openly and honestly. No, he suggests indirectly to the reader what he finds inconvenient to state directly. But the suggestions are unmistakable.

Trotsky's polemics against Bolshevism are evaluated by Deutscher as "Acute and venemous," as an "odd . . . assortment of great ideas and petty polemical tricks, of subtle historical insights and fustian flourishes," as "the faithful mirror of the future," etc. He says the 1903 controversy "at its more advanced stage will become one of the major motifs" of the book; in fact, it is the major theme.

Now let's examine that part of Trotsky's polemics against Lenin which Deutscher regards as acute, great, subtle, a faithful mirror and so on. It is all summed up in a single sentence, written by Trotsky in 1904 in a pamphlet, **Our Political Tasks**, which reads as follows:

"Lenin's methods lead to this: the party organization (the caucus) at first substitutes itself for the party as a whole; then the Central Committee substitutes itself for the organization; and finally a single 'dictator' substitutes himself for the Central Committee."

Out of the millions of words Trotsky wrote in 40 years of steady literary output, this is the favorite sentence of all the renegades and opponents of Bolshevism, and they naturally use it against Trotsky as well as Lenin. Deutscher too is so fond of this sentence that he recurs to it repeatedly and uses it for the climax and conclusion on his last page.

THE 1904 PREDICTION

The 24-year old Trotsky, he marvels, "predicted" the post-revolution degeneration of the Bolshevik party with "uncanny clearsightedness," his chief error being that it was Stalin (unknown in 1904) and not Lenin who became dictator over the party. The obvious implication here is that Trotsky should have stuck by his 1904 prediction instead of turning around and becoming a Bolshevik himself.

The trouble with this prediction was that it too was guilty of a form of "substitutism." It sought to foresee the development of the Bolshevik party solely in abstract terms of its internal organizational procedures, to the neglect of the much more decisive effects on the party of concrete social-political developments in the class struggles outside the party.

The Bolshevik party did not degenerate after the revolution because Lenin had molded it into a highly disciplined organization — in fact, the revolution would never have taken place unless he had done that — but because the revolution, instead of being extended from Russia to the more industrially developed countries of Europe, was defeated in the years after World War I (with the aid of the treacherous Social Democrats) and confined to an economically and cultural weak and backward country.

If the revolution had been extended (and it would have been extended if the revolutionists in Germany and elsewhere had built in advance precisely the kind of party Lenin built in Russia), if the Soviet Union had been able to link its economy with that of more advanced countries, then the relation of forces inside the Bolshevik party would have been different, the party would have been able to escape or overcome the Stalinist degeneration, and it would have continued to function in the same healthy democratic-centralist fashion that it did in its best and most creative years.

THE DIFFERENCES

Thanks to his growing mastery of the Marxist method of analysis and to his own enlightening experience with the Bolsheviks, Trotsky came to see the inadequacy, narrowness and abstractness of his 1904 prediction. He rejected it totally and fought untiringly against all the opponents of Marxism who sought to explain the degeneration of the Bolshevik party by its adoption of Lenin's correct organizational principles rather than by the complex historical process that unfolded and crushed the party in the years of reaction after the revolution.

But Deutscher, in his own sly way, tries to patch up one of the main crutches in the arsenal of anti-Bolshevism. The difference between the writings of Trotsky and Deutscher is not only that Trotsky acts openly while Deutscher operates by innuendo, but that Trotsky defends Bolshevism while Deutscher seeks to discredit it. Further proof will be supplied in future articles.

A bill to force all veterans, present and future, to sign a loyalty oath or forfeit all veteran's benefits except paid insurance, was introduced in the Senate March 30 by Senator Saltonstall, Massachusett's Republican.

$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Detroit	$ 500	$ 339	68
Newark	400	236	59
Buffalo	1,500	850	57
Pittsburgh	150	80	53
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	475	40
Milwaukee	250	95	38
Youngstown	150	50	33
Chicago	1,500	473	32
St. Louis	75	20	27
New York	3,000	723	24
San Francisco	700	164	23
Los Angeles	2,500	481	19
Boston	500	92	18
Cleveland	250	45	18
Philadelphia	400	73	18
Allentown	75	5	7
Akron	100	0	0
Oakland	250	0	0
Seattle	250	0	0
General	250	45	18
Total through March 29	$14,000	$ 4,246	30

. . . Conspire to Bury Probe of Fascist Sen. McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

Among the qualifications demanded of the special counsel — get this! — were a lawyer who has never been a counsel or consultant in any previous Congressional inquiry, who is not and has not been a member of Congress, who does not represents a company that sponsors "Left Wing" or "Right Wing" radio, television or press comentators or columnists. AND — last but not least — a lawyer who **"would not be personally obnoxious to the Army or Senator McCarthy."** (N. Y. Times, March 30.)

In addition to all this, the National Board of the American Civil Liberties Union offered a helping hand by rallying in defense of McCarthy's right to cross-examine witnesses hostile to him, if and when McCarthy's committee gets going with their scheduled probe of their chief. (See editorial, page 3.)

SCHINE COMMENDED

This does not end the list of assist plays made in behalf of the man who would be fuehrer of America. On March 27 Brig. Gen. F. E. Howard gave McCarthy's KP-evading crony Schine public commendation as "a good soldier." This favorable publicity for McCarthy, no doubt cooked up by the advertising agency hucksters swarming around the White House, got a good play in the press.

In Congress itself the GOP started another move to help McCarthy. "House Republican leaders will try to take spotlight — and heat — off Sen. Joseph McCarthy next week. They plan drive to pass first bill on administration's anti-Communist program — to legalize use of wiretap evidence. Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., is calling it the "anti-traitor bill' to build up steam for quick approval." Those opening sentences of a March 27 dispatch in the Scripps-Howard newspapers are sufficient to indicate the score.

Meanwhile America's most prominent fascist leader was not idle himself. As part of his tactical retreat, aimed at stalling and gumming up the "probe," he sent out repeated feelers for a deal; namely, that Cohn and Adams, the counsel of the Army involved in the dispute over Schine, both resign and the investigation be quashed.

It was not revealed, of course, whether this was accompanied by furtive blackmail threats, made possible by McCarthy's access to the "unprocessed" FBI files. These contain mountains of scandalous tidbits about the intimate private affairs of millions of Americans, not excluding both Democratic and Republican Senators.

TEST JABS

At the same time, McCarthy cautiously jabbed to determine whether things were ripe for him to resume the offensive. On March 23 he demanded that the subcommittee divert its attention from the probe and turn to corruption in Alaska and "subversives" in defense industries. He withdrew the demand quickly enough, but it caused an apprehensive ripple among both Republicans and Democrats, for the implications were clear. Suppose McCarthy should charge them with covering up "communists" by stalling the witch hunt while they "persecuted" him!

On March 31, he again raised his demand to get going with these investigations. "I hope, if the selection of a counsel drags on much longer, that we can proceed with other inquires." And with that loving feel for lies both large and small that seems almost instinctive in the Hitler type, he added: **"The unforseen delay in getting a counsel is the fault of no one."**

By this time the sensational case of the Army vs. McCarthy, which two weeks before had been hailed as signifying the doom of the fascist demagogue, was buried in the far corners of the press and other and more exciting news like the H-Bomb tests was in the headlines. McCarthy's cunning stalls for time were paying off.

One lesson stands out from this sordid story with crystal clarity. Neither Democrats nor Republicans can be depended on to stop McCarthyism. Nothing they may do now to save face before an indignant population can wipe this fact out.

To stop the fascist danger in America, completely different forces and leaders are required. These can be supplied only by the labor movement.

The reality of the fascist threat has not diminished in the slightest because McCarthy beat a temporary tactical retreat. Anyone in the labor movement who thinks that McCarty has been stopped is simply a victim of the most dangerous possible delusion. This is obvious to any thinking person who has studied the fascist movement of Europe or seen them first hand.

An obscure New Jersey Assemblyman, James C. Jamieson, who has just returned from a trip abroad, reports as the universal judgment across the Atlantic that McCarthy is "simply following the Hitler idea." The March 25 Washington (N. J.) Star reports him as saying:

"The Germans who remembered Hitler's start very well, told me that that was just the way Hitler started out, and they can't understand how we are letting McCarthy get away with it."

The State Department announced March 30 that it had denied a passport to the noted American playright, Arthur Miller. Miller had planned to attend the opening in Brussels of his powerful anti-witch hunt play, "The Crucible."

. . . Anti-McCarthy Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

the pamphlet on McCarthyism and asked if he could sell any to his friends. He told me 'yes.' I was rather surprised today when he gave me money for all the pamphlets I gave him and he promised to sell more."

In making plans for the Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign in San Francisco and Oakland, Gordon Bailey writes: "Peristent sales of the pamphlet on McCarthyism over the last two months have netted sales totalling about 350 copies. While no heavy concentration has been placed on the Road to Socialism, one comrade has sold 35 copies to members of his union.

"With the opening of the National Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign we have laid plans for organizing this work on a more systematic basis and in campaign fashion."

In order to increase Militant sales during the concentrated literature campaign the Bay Area is planning to include credits for Militant sales and subs obtained in its local competition.

Comrade Bailey concludes his report: "Our active forces in the Bay area are not large, but they make up in energy what they lack in numbers. The Oakland Organizer has already challenged the San Francisco Organizer to a race. With that spirit permeating the ranks, we should make a good record in the campaign."

Five branches have sent in reports on their work for the first two weeks of the campaign. In determining the position of the branch in the competition, total points are related to the size of the branch. On this basis results are as follows:

1.	Newark	428
2.	New York	451
3.	Cleveland	33
4.	St. Louis	14
5.	Twin Cities	114

Cleveland writes: "We are looking forward to a very good campaign here and are just getting started."

Chicago will be several weeks late in starting due to other pressing local activities. The comrades plan to make up for lost time by working beyond our May 15 termination date.

The enthusiasm of the St. Paul comrades is indicated by the following: "Our branch is still riding high and is full of enthusiasm for the literature campaign launched by the party. As elsewhere in the country the timeliness of our current literature, above all the anti-McCarthy pamphlet, has propelled us to move ahead at a speed and to an extent not experienced by our movement locally in years. The start of the campaign finds us, therefore, primed and already in the thick of things."

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Eisenhower OK's a New Korea

Secretary of State Dulles, speaking before the Overseas Press Club in New York on March 29, clearly confirmed the warning that the Militant has been sounding for several months: The Eisenhower administration is preparing to make another Korea out of Indo-China, up to and including the sending of U.S. troops to fight and die in Indo-China to make that French colony safe for imperialism.

The key statement in Dulles' speech was his declaration that "the imposition on Southeast Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally, *by whatever means*, would be a grave threat to the whole free community. The United States feels that this possibility should not be passively accepted, but should be met by united action. This might have serious risks, but these risks are far less than would face us a few years from now if we dare not be resolute today."

Translated into plain English, this means: The Eisenhower administration will not permit what it calls "communism" to be established in Southeast Asia "by whatever means" — that is, in any way. At present a civil war is going on in Indo-China in which the overwhelming majority of the people are trying to drive out foreign imperialists and their puppets, and establish a system of their own choice. Dulles serves notice that U.S. capitalism will not tolerate their victory. At the same time he serves notice that it will not tolerate the establishment of such a system "by whatever means" — including peaceful means — not only in Indo-China but in all of Southeast Asia. Not even Hitler dared to make more brutal declarations of imperialist dictation to colonial countries.

What Dulles means by "united action" was spelled out by the Washington reporter of the Wall Street Journal, obviously briefed by the State Department.

It means, he wrote, first that "The Americans will throw in whatever planes and supplies are deemed needed" to win the battle of Dien Bien Phu. Second, "no concessions shall be made to the Reds at Geneva." Third, "the U.S. intends, if necessary, to recruit the aid of the United Nations — or part of the United Nations — to bolster the units now fighting in Indo-China." Fourth, "State Department officials are considering still another move — an appeal to the United Nations for quick, indirect action, like a naval blockade of Red China. This might be tried, if the Reds are recalcitrant at Geneva."

What are the "serious risks" that the Eisenhower administration has decided to take? "The decision," continues the report in the March 30 Journal, "is that if the French give up and decide to pull out that the U.S. must then call on the United Nations to send troops to Indo-China and enforce a blockade." If this provocation should produce retaliatory action by China, then "the U.S. would either bomb Red China or throw U.S. troops into Indo-China, or do both.

"The U.S. would be willing, in this case, to risk World War III.

"Would the U.S. be willing to throw in U.S. troops as a last resort if the Red Chinese didn't intervene — but if the native Reds grew so strong that Indo-China were on the verge of falling?" The answer already made in Washington is Yes. "It is understood the U.S. would, if necessary, throw in U.S. troops."

Thus the Dulles speech, approved in advance by Eisenhower, tells the whole world — the Kremlin, its allies and puppets on one side; the allies and puppets of Washington on the other — that the U.S. government is determined to dictate the fate of Southeast Asia at any cost, including a new world war.

It wasn't only for foreign consumption that Dulles voiced these threats. It was also, and perhaps primarily, intended for another victim of the policy of "serious risks" — that is, the American people.

Dulles' speech, wrote Washington correspondent James Reston in the March 30 N. Y. Times, "reflected the apprehension that has been felt in official quarters here about the Geneva conference on Korea and Indo-China; the present status of French politics; and *the present state of public opinion in this country.*"

What is this "apprehension" about U.S. public opinion? "The feeling has been growing here," says Reston, "that the French and the Associated States will not win the war by themselves, and that, while they might very well need the help of the United States, public opinion in this country is not prepared for armed intervention by the United States. This has alarmed officials at the State and Defense departments."

Another way of saying that U.S. public opinion is "not prepared" for war in Indo-China is that the American people are resolutely opposed to being dragged or driven into such a war, just as they were to the reactionary intervention in the Korean civil war. And that is one of the most hopeful signs in the whole situation.

The war plans and timetables of U.S. imperialism have been shaken up and readjusted many times since the end of World War II by the revolutionary resistance of the colonial people and the European working class, and for this the whole world owes them a deep debt of gratitude. In fighting for their own interests, they also fought against and postponed the war of atomic annihilation projected in Washington.

But this is not the whole story. U.S. capitalism has had to cope with the resistance of the American people too, and with their strong reluctance to serve as troops in a general counter-revolutionary war. Their pressure made itself felt throughout the entire Korean war, and contributed considerably to the truce reached there. If Eisenhower, Dulles and Co. are now alarmed about U.S. public opinion on Indo-China, it is because they understand how effectively the American people can disrupt and paralyze the best laid war plans.

Dulles tried to bludgeon the American people into line by creating the impression that the decision on Indo-China has been made and that there is nothing that can be done about it. This is a lie. If the American people intervene at home, they will be able to prevent military intervention abroad in Indo-China. What they need to do is to deepen their distrust of the capitalist politicians, express unalterable opposition to another Korea in Southeast Asia, and organize independently of the capitalist parties for political action to kick out of office all the supporters of the Dulles doctrine, Republican and Democratic alike.

It will be easier, cheaper and less risky for the American people to get rid of the imperialists at home than to be dragged by them into a world war that may mean the end of civilization.

McCarthy's Rights in Jeopardy?

The Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union on March 24 backed McCarthy's right to cross-examine witnesses in the "probe" that the fascist Senator's own subcommittee is scheduled to make of the scandal in his relations with the Army Brass. The ACLU has been smeared by McCarthy as a "communist front organization."

In the abstract, the right to confront an accuser is, of course, an indisputable norm of democracy. But we would like to remind the ACLU that it is not exactly McCarthy's democratic rights that are in jeopardy. He wants to be prosecutor, judge, and jury in his own trial.

Behind McCarthy stands the fabulous wealth of the Texas oil and cattle barons. Powerful voices in the daily press, radio and TV champion his cause. He has strong support in both the Democratic and Republican parties. The government bureaucracy, including the FBI, is honey-combed with protagonists of his fascist cause. A sizeable middle-class grouping backs him to the hilt. Up to now this fascist demagogue has shown that he knows how to mobilize these forces in militant defense of his "rights." If the ACLU leadership were serious in its concern for a "fair hearing from which the full truth . . . can emerge," it would at least support unreservedly the demand that the investigation be transferred to another committee, although even a different Senate committee might prove to be loaded with McCarthy supporters. Instead the ACLU timidly proposes that only the "fact-finding" aspect be relegated to another committee, leaving final determination of the charges to be made by McCarthy's own committee.

By thus straddling on even this issue, the ACLU leadership finds itself lined up with McCarthy on an important aspect of the conduct of the investigation.

The policy of appeasing McCarthyism violates a democratic right of the ACLU membership — the democratic right to control the leadership, for it flies in the face of the will of the rank and file as expressed in a national policy referendum last year and as recorded at a national conference held Feb. 12-15.

Last week we reported the Board's declaration supporting the McCarthyite charge that the Communist Party is part of "an international conspiracy." So urgently did the majority of the Board feel the need to appease McCarthy with this red-baiting attack that it did so without even waiting for the report of a special joint local-national committee established as a result of the February conference to draw up a policy statement on this issue.

The ACLU Board tried to prove its "impartiality" by defending the powerfully protected rights of a dangerous fascist on the make. It tried to clear itself of McCarthy's smear of the ACLU by echoing his main premise that "communism" is a "conspiracy" and not a political view. And it thereby demonstratively breached the main principle of the ACLU — no quarter in the defense of civil rights and civil liberties in America.

Pabloism -- First Vote, Then Discuss

By Farrell Dobbs

One of the latest contributions toward the Pabloite intrigue to split the Fourth International is an article by M. Mestre in the March 1954 issue of La Verite des Travailleurs, a Pabloite paper.

Mestre's article makes the following claims: The Fourth International is now engaged in a democratic discussion preparatory to the Fourth World Congress scheduled by a recent plenum of the International Executive Committee. The discussion has already provided a correct analysis of the world situation in general and of Stalinism in particular.

The scheduled congress, she asserts, will determine the political line of the International and the method of applying the line. It will also elect the international leadership that will carry out the line. All members and sections will be subject to the discipline of this leadership representing the international majority as determined by the congress.

Mestre's claims are false from beginning to end. Her reference to a "correct analysis" obviously signifies the Pabloite line which the orthodox Trotskyists have challenged as a crass revision of Trotskyist fundamentals.

The Pabloites have projected the concept that an engulfing wave of mass pressure will make the proletarian revolution automatic and irreversible, compel the self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy, force the Stalinists to gradually accept the Trotskyist program and thus "objectively" solve the problem of leadership.

Leading Pabloites have put forward the notion of a "sharing of power" with the masses by the Soviet bureaucracy, thereby moving toward abandonment of the Trotskyist concept of the inevitability of the political revolution against the bureaucracy. Pablo himself sees the ideological breaking-up of Stalinism and assigns to the Communist parties a revolutionary vanguard role. Consequently he thinks the perspectives of the 1938 Transitional Program, which includes the perspective of building independent parties of the Fourth International, has been overturned from top to bottom.

"DEEP" ENTRY

The Pabloites prescribe a more or less prolonged and more or less total entry of the Trotskyists into the Stalinist milieu where they would become a sort of left opposition to speed the Stalinist reformation. Pablo's tactic of "deep" entry has been extended to include reformist parties, as in Britain, and mass organization under petty bourgeois leadership, as in Argentina.

The Pabloites abandon the Trotskyist concept of the entry tactic as a temporary detour in the building of an independent revolutionary party. They see everything solved for the Trotskyists by entrist maneuvers, provided the entries are "total" and "prolonged." They rule out as "sectarian" the perspective of building revolutionary parties of the Fourth International.

This line signifies a loss of faith in the working class on the part of the Pabloites and the consequent conviction that the bureaucracies cannot be overthrown anywhere in the mass movement. As a result they begin to look for "progressive" manifestation in the various bureaucracies and develop a conciliatory attitude toward alien political tendencies in general. Pabloism is the politics of an unprincipled combination who are united at bottom by common pessimism about the future of the Fourth International.

TROTSKYIST POSITION

In opposition to this revisionist-liquidationist Pabloite line, the orthodox Trotskyists take the following general position: There is no question that the world revolutionary movement is experiencing a significant upsurge, but it is passing through an uneven and contradictory development, chiefly because of Stalinist betrayals.

The Kremlin bureaucracy does not aim to aid the world revolution or overthrow imperialism. It wants to contain both imperialist aggression and revolutionary expansion, hoping to maintain the general status quo and thereby become the balance of power between the imperialist and the revolutionary forces. This guiding line of the Kremlin accounts for the Stalinist betrayal of the French General Strike.

Recent political events in France, East Germany and the Soviet Union confirm the Trotskyist program of the necessity of political revolution to overthrow Stalinism where it holds the power and underline the need to isolate Stalinism everywhere in the revolutionary movement. These events also confirm the perspectives of the 1938 Transitional Program, including the necessity to build independent parties of the Fourth International everywhere in the world.

It is sometimes necessary in building the independent Trotskyist parties to make a tactical entry into organizations dominated by hostile political tendencies where leftward currents are to be found in the ranks. Such entries are not made to effect reconciliation with alien tendencies. The purpose of the entry is to facilitate the struggle against alien political tendencies and build the independent Trotskyist parties.

Discussion of the deep-going political differences between the orthodox Trotskyists and the Pabloites has from the outset been deliberately distorted and disrupted by the Pabloites. Instead of a forthright presentation of their full position, they have tried to put over their revisionist line in piecemeal fashion, seeking thereby to conceal its true revisionist character. The Pabloites further attempt to sow political confusion by falsifying the views of the orthodox Trotskyists whom they denounce as "sectarian" and "Stalinophobic" elements "capitulating to imperialist pressure."

TRUMPED-UP CHARGES

When the orthodox Trotskyists formed the International Committee of the Fourth International (Trotskyist), the Pabloites immediately branded the formation of this committee a "split." They manufactured from the whole cloth the fraudulent accusation that the International Committee is organizing its own world congress. On the basis of these trumped-up charges, the Pabloites claim that the orthodox Trotskyists are not acting as a faction.

The object of this frameup is to prohibit the organization of a faction in the International by anybody but Pablo. Those who desire to support the orthodox Trotskyist faction are warned by Pablo that such support means to "leave the International" and that "sanctions" will be taken against them because they have "split." Such are the "discussion" methods of the Pabloite regime which Mestre brazenly describes as "democratic."

Pablo organized minority oppositions behind the backs of the national leadership in leading sections of the International. He used these cliques to bring about minority splits, after which he "expelled" the majorities as "splitters" and gave "official" recognition to his minorities.

He has instituted systematic disruption of the cadres, country by country, in an effort to drive out, or muzzle and handcuff, all orthodox Trotskyists. Among the foremost victims of this split-expulsion tactic were the French, British and New Zealand sections.

Mestre refers to a "recent plenum of the International Executive Committee." This so-called plenum represented nothing more than a handful of European Pabloites. None of the IEC members were present from Asia, Latin America, the Middle East or the other areas.

This rump gathering endorsed all of Pablo's splits and expulsions. It proclaimed new ghost sections and suspended all opponents of Pabloism, including ten elected members of the IEC. It also ordered the suspension of leaders in the sections who give support to the International Committee. Having thus completed all "democratic" preparations, this rump plenum scheduled a rump world congress to put over the Pabloite line.

FIRST VOTE — THEN DISCUSS

When the orthodox Trotskyists challenged the Pabloites last November, the Pablo-rigged International Secretariat urged all the sections to denounce the Trotskyist faction and take a stand in support of the IS. Swift action was demanded without any fooling around with discussion of the issues before making a decision.

Facts have since come to light proving that Pabloites holding leading positions put their organization on record in support of Pablo without bothering to consult the rank and file. That happened, for example, in Italy and Chile. In the case of Peru, a single Pabloite put the Central Committee on record in support of Pablo without even securing the permission of the Central Committee.

Despite this all-out campaign to stampede the sections into support of Pablo, the political facts of life began to break through. Many who were at first tricked into supporting Pablo began to get the score on his revisionist-liquidationist line and later came out against Pablo in solidarity with the International Committee.

Such, for example, was the case with the Iceland section, about which R. Kane wrote: "My first reaction was one of loyalty to the International . . . I now completely grasp (that) . . . what is involved is a wide open fight to preserve the Lenin-Trotsky heritage . . . An important section of our party has already taken its stand in support of . . . the International Committee."

Confronted with this situation, Pablo modified his stampeding tactics and called for delay in making a political decision. "Take the time to know and discuss all the documents of the International on the crisis . . ." the IS wrote to the Iceland section. "Adjourn your final decision until you have heard the reports of your representatives to the world congress."

This seeming moderation on Pablo's part is merely a new trick. It is part of a scheme to paralyze political thought and decision in the sections. Pablo wants to keep his opposition paralyzed until he is ready to impose the "discipline of the international majority" to which Mestre made reference. This "discipline" he plans to put over through a fake majority he is rigging up for his rump congress.

Mestre herself has removed any doubt as to the reason for Pablo's demand that those who oppose him withhold making political decisions until his rump congress has been held. She says the rump congress will "determine the political line of the International" and the "method of applying the line." This same rump congress, she says, will "elect the International leadership" who will enforce the line.

Baldly stated, the Pablo-Mestre line means: If you can't make up your mind now to support Pablo, don't make any political decision at all until he has made it impossible for you to oppose him without being "expelled" under the "discipline" of his rump congress.

IC AIMS

In sharp contrast to this devious pattern of Pabloite intrigue, the International Committee has given a forthright presentation of its political position and a frank declaration of its organizational aims. The International Committee describes itself as the coordinating body for the organization of an orthodox Trotskyist faction in the Fourth International. It has announced it will fight to conduct a full and democratic discussion of all issues in dispute, so that all the sections may familiarize themselves with the issues and take a political position, before decisions are made at a democratically-organized congress.

The International Committee has stated its basic aims to be: Defense of the Trotskyist program and organization against the Pabloite revisionist-liquidationist attack; and removal of the Pabloite usurpers from the central apparatus of the world organization in order to restore internal democracy and carry out a genuine Trotskyist policy.

The International Committee has made clear that it has not split from the International and has no need to split. It reports that it already has the support of the majority of the basic Trotskyist cadres and is sure of an even bigger majority in a democratic discussion.

World Events

By Paul Abbott

MANUEL FERNANDEZ GRANDIZIO, better known among Spanish refugee circles under the pen name of "Munis," was sentenced by a drumhead court-martial in Franco Spain to 10 years in prison. Jaime Fernandez Rodriquez was sentenced by the same tribunal to eight years. The two were accused of having organized a study circle among workers.

Both Munis and Jaime were former members of the Fourth International. They fought against Franco during the Spanish Civil war. Despite imprisonment in 1937, both managed to escape from the country but were then held in concentration camps in France. Munis was later deported to Mexico. The two anti-fascists re-entered Spain after World War II.

* * *

FASCIST BUTCHER FRANCO likes the taste of that sugar in the U.S. Treasury. In 1954 the Eisenhower administration gave the former friend and ally of Hitler and Mussolini $85,000,000 as "economic aid" and $141,000,000 in "defense equipment" scheduled for delivery by June 30. When the dictator learned that plans in Washington called for a slight reduction in the hand-out for 1955, he at once raised his voice. Pueblo, a Falangist newspaper, declared "the Spanish government needs about $400,000,000 to carry out extensive plans. . ."

"We do not demand privileged treatment," declared, this mouthpiece of Franco, evidently eyeing others in Wall Street's stable like Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, "— merely equality with other nations pledged to the defense of the free world."

* * *

PRISONS FILLED WITH LABOR LEADERS were the Venezuelan background to the "human rights" document which representatives of Latin American dictatorship obligingly passed for Secretary of State Dulles at the Caracas Conference.

An up-to-date list of the victims of the Venezuelan dictatorship has been issued by the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers. The list includes leaders of the Farm Workers Union, the National Printers Union, the National Association of Employees, the Oil Workers Federation, the Retail Stores Employees Union, the Textile Workers Union, the Cigar Workers, the Chauffeurs and Drivers, the Shoe Workers, the Iron Workers and the Construction Workers.

Among those held in prison as long as four years is Pedro B. Perez Salinas, President of the Confederation of Labor.

* * *

A DISSIDENT GROUP in the periphery of the Mexican Stalinist movement, organized in the Partido Obrero-Campesino (Farmer-Labor Party), tried to do a model Moscow hatchet job on the new revolutionary socialist publication "Que Hacer?". In the Feb. 16 issue of their sheet, "November," these Stalinist dissidents claim that the backers of "Que Hacer?" were given to know they would "soon receive money in abundance in an attempt to increase their activities. . .

"This money was to come from where it has always come: from international imperialism whose seat is now the city of Washington and whose funds are located in Wall Street. The one charged with allocating it was James P. Cannon, who presents himself in the USA as chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, whose function, according to the text of its publications, is to applaud the Nazi-like steps of the Eisenhower government."

Reporting this typical Stalinist slander about the American Trotskyists being paymasters for Wall Street and applauders of Eisenhower, the editors of "Que Hacer?" then ironically opened the columns of their March issue to the official Stalinist publication, "La Voz de Mexico" (The Voice of Mexico), organ of the Mexican Communist Party.

In the Feb. 19 issue, this Stalinist paper discusses a family difference with its relatives of the periphery, namely, whether or not the Partito Obrero-Campesino was in a united front with the official Stalinists in Monterey, which La Voz denies in customary Stalinist fashion:

The POC, says La Voz, is a "band of agents-provocateurs of imperialism," agents-provocateurs in the service of "Yankee imperialism," in fact, agents-provocateurs who are nothing less than "trotskyists without quotation marks. . ."

Then swinging the old cabbage with all its might, La Voz hits the nail square on the head with the usual Stalinist accuracy: "Decidedly, these shameless people have descended to the lowest depths of moral depravity and have converted themselves into a band of vulgar provocateurs whose favorite weapon is slander."

The editors of "Que Hacer?" comment: "Our readers will pardon us for these quotations. But we considered it in the interests of political hygiene to demonstrate the seriousness and the decency of the Stalinists."

...A-Weapons Can Destroy Mankind

(Continued from page 1)

that other persons — 236 residents of the Marshall Islands and 28 American personnel — had also been exposed to the second H-bomb's radiations, but reported the United Press on March 17, **"the AEC said they were not hurt."**

However, in reporting the "successful" explosion of a third H-bomb, on March 26, the March 30 N.Y. Daily News, with the country's largest circulation, reveals:

"The first H-bomb of this year . . . admittedly was several times more powerful than the scientists had expected and **resulted in severe radiation burns to scores of U.S. task force members, Marshall Islands natives and Japanese fishermen."** (Our emphasis.)

WHAT U.S. FACES

Apart from such wide-range and unpredictable consequences of the H-bomb, it is estimated by Joseph C. Harsch, Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, that "a hundred Soviet H-bombs dropped on a hundred American cities could affect nearly half the American population and a mere 22 such bombs could affect 44 million Americans." He concedes "there is no known reason to doubt Soviet capacity" to produce and deliver such a number of H-bombs.

What Harsch could have added is that the Soviet Union didn't invent these atomic weapons and hasn't threatened to use them. Wall Street's government has used them, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has brandished them continuously since the end of World War II and is making all the threats.

We are informed by columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop, in the March 31 N.Y. Herald-Tribune, that before the current Pacific "tests" are concluded it is expected that an H-bomb of 40 megatons power — "some 2,000 times the power of the Hiroshima bomb, and capable of laying waste an area of about a thousand square miles" — will be detonated. The March 1 bomb, they add, developed a power of "only" 14 megatons, "almost twice the power they had estimated."

THE COBALT BOMB

But the explosive impact of the H-bomb — capable of disintegrating a city of millions in a flash — is not the ultimate horror contained in atomic bombs. It is lingering radiation that holds the threat of extinguishing life on earth. The H-bombs exploded in the Pacific, according to Harry Schwartz in the March 26 N.Y. Times, developed ash containing long-lived radioactive Strontinum 90, "which does not disappear within a relatively short time . . ."

Moreover, the H-bomb may soon be out-dated by the C-bomb — the cobalt bomb. Radioactive cobalt 60 meets "the problem . . . to keep alive, at a deadly high level, the radioative contamination," reports a March 27 Associated Press dispatch from Washington.

Cobalt 60 "has a prolonged radioactive life when impregnated. Its dangerous contamination can last for several years." In fact, atomic scientists warned several years ago that just one such cobalt bomb could release enough radiation poisoning to contaminate the atmosphere of the entire world. That's the ultimate prospect of Wall Street's plans to "save the world for democracy."

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1954 — NUMBER 14

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Lester Granger's Profession

Negro youth who show special promise, intelligence and idealism in school are often advised to seek careers in the field of social work. But there is no longer room for intelligence, idealism and liberalism in that field, and young people should be warned to avoid it like the plague.

If Lester Granger, executive director of the National Urban League and probably the best known Negro leader in the field of social work, is an example and an authority — and we deny neither — only cynical, opportunistic careerists belong in it.

In a lecture to the annual meeting of the Neighborhood Settlement Association meeting in Cleveland recently, Granger laid down the Eisenhower-McCarthy line. Because social workers have hitched their wagon to a political star "with a liberal label on it," he said, they have failed to gain the whole-hearted support of the American people.

Which American people? — The Eisenhower administration. That is why social workers were not consulted when the new Department of Welfare, with Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby at its head, was formed, he pointed out.

"Too many of our profession have shown a lamentable tendency to join the screaming throngs of those who seek status by grabbing on to a cause with a liberal label on it," Granger charged.

"We are too prone to look for miracles which don't exist in reality — whether they are called new deal, fair deal or cleaning up the mess."

Chiding his audience on the gloom among social workers following Eisenhower's election, he said: "We seem to forget that social work is a free enterprise activity, and no matter how much government supports welfare programs the future lies with voluntary groups."

Then, having pledged his allegiance to capitalist wars, depressions and insecurity, he ghoulishly painted a picture of a profitable future for social workers who play it smart:

There is always work to be done in settlement houses, he said, among juvenile delinquents, broken families, the handicapped, persons dependent on public assistance. A change of administration doesn't really affect such basic problems or needs. Social workers don't need to become frantic "liberals" or "bleeding hearts" to accomplish their jobs. Their primary needs are patience, understanding, tolerance, the ability to smooth out the rough edges.

That's the role of social workers today. If their work brings them in contact with young veterans, crippled for life mentally or physically; with starving, cold, frightened people; with children embarked on the dead-end road of criminal careers without a chance to know any other life; with people whose lives are blighted by racial discrimination — if they come in contact with any of the senseless misery and injustice of capitalist society, social workers must not become "bleeding hearts," must not become indignant, must not use their intelligence to try to find the cause and the cure.

Youth should be told the truth: If you are prepared to crush every decent human impulse you have, give up your right to think scientifically, and resign yourself to mental and moral wage slavery in the interests of the parasitic capitalist class, join Lester Granger's profession.

Irvin Faces Death

By Harry Ring

Walter Lee Irvin, now the sole defendant in the notorious 1949 "Little Scottsboro" case of Groveland, Florida, is facing imminent death in the electric chair, a victim of murderous Southern Jim Crow "justice."

On March 23 the Florida Parole Board callously denied a final plea to save Irvin's life. Twice in January the Supreme Court turned a deaf ear to pleas for a retrial. Only the Governor of Florida can now save him from the chair by commuting his sentence to life imprisonment. The National Association for Advancement of Colored People reports that the Governor will shortly set the day and hour for Irvin to die.

Irvin, now 27, and three other Negro youths, Ernest Thomas, Charles Greenlee and Samuel Shepherd, were accused of "raping" a white farm housewife in Groveland on July 6, 1949. The accusation was made when local Ku Klux Klan elements were being inspired to increased anti-Negro activities by local paper mill bosses, whose employees, largely Negro, were beginning to voice their discontent over miserably low pay and long working hours.

Ernest Thomas, one of the four accused, was shot down in a backwoods swamp by a Sheriff's posse for allegedly "resisting arrest." The remaining thee were brought to trial in an atmosphere of uncontrolled Jim Crow terror so violent that the entire Negro community of 400 was forced to flee the town to escape being lynched. During the height of the anti-Negro pogrom, scores of Negroes were shot at and beaten. Three homes, including that of the parents of one of the defendants, were burned to the ground.

Within six weeks, during which the defendants were beaten and tortured by Sheriff Willis McCall, the three defendants were indicted, tried and found guilty by a local all-white jury. Irvin and Samuel Shepherd were sentenced to death. Sixteen-year old Charles Greenlee was sent to a road camp for life. He decided not to appeal the verdict.

So brutally in violation of any kind of justice was the entire trial, that the U.S. Supreme Court in 1951 reversed the decision and ordered a new trial. Justice Jackson declared the trial "one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces to American justice," and branded it "but a legal gesture to register a verdict already dictated by the press and the public opinion which it generated."

On the night of Nov. 6, 1951, while transporting Irvin and Shepherd for retrial the next day, Sheriff McCall stopped the car, ordered the prisoners out, killed Shepherd in cold blood and almost fatally wounded Irvin. A local Grand Jury quickly exonerated him on grounds of "self-defense."

On Feb. 11 of the following year, sufficiently recovered from the bullet wounds inflicted by the sheriff, Irvin was again brought to trial in an adjoining county, before the same judge and prosecutor. The trial lasted only three days. After one hour and twenty three minutes of "deliberation" another all-white jury condemned Irvin to death.

The NAACP again appealed to the Supreme Court, presenting irrefutable evidence that the second trial, like the first, was a mockery of "due process," conducted again in an atmosphere violently hostile to the defendant. But this time the Court rejected their plea, leaving Irvin at the mercy of Florida lynch law.

The ugly facts in this case dramatically spotlight the benefits of the "American Way of Life" that Wall Street seeks to extend to the entire world at the point of an H-bomb.

Dock Strikers Confront Unholy Alliance

Back-to-Work Move Flops

New York's Mayor Wagner (top, light hat) inspects strike-bound Brooklyn dock after his back-to-work demand to International Longshoremen's Association members was spurned. Below, strikers shout at mayor: "Give us a contract and we'll go back to work. We're not racketeers."

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, March 30 — Civil strife has gripped and paralyzed this major port. Some 20,000 dock strikers face an unholy combination of shipowners, Republican and Democratic political machines and a segment of the AFL led by Paul Hall and David Beck, heads of the Seaman's and Teamster unions.

The strikers' union leaders are under indictment for defying an anti-labor injunction. Their strike is called a "criminal conspiracy" by Governor Dewey who, with Washington's approval, promises that the government will "use every weapon at its command to break the strike." Strike-breakers are herded onto the docks by the AFL leaders and the police are mobilized to intimidate and smash the strikers' resistance. Mayor Wagner, elected last fall as "labor's friend," has left town for a vacation in Bermuda.

The 27-day-old strike was initiated by the ranks of the independent International Longshoremen's Association, but has now received ILA Council sanction. **At issue in this waterfront war is the right of the dockers to a union of their own choice free from coercion and regimentation organized by the State in collusion with the AFL leaders.**

These dockers are now getting a real dose of force and violence, fraud and corruption, deceit and treachery, to say nothing of the capitalist press propaganda barrage slandering them as "gangsters" and "racketeers." This comes after the dockers have been harassed, deceived, betrayed and violently abused over long years. No other section of American labor has suffered as much.

The present waterfront crisis was precipitated by the intervention of the AFL leaders, who are seeking to supplant the ILA. The AFL expelled the ILA with the pious declaration that the ILA had failed to "clean its house." The potentially greatly lucrative prize was then turned over to an AFL committee dominated by Hall and Beck, well-known as aggressive expansionists interested primarily in increasing their own power and prestige.

Both are particularly notorious for ruthless smashing of weaker unions. Beck was once barred from the Washington State Federation of Labor following his attempt to smash other AFL unions in that state. Hall led an attack against the Canadian Seamen's Union during its strike six years ago and smashed that body, with disastrous consequences which have never been overcome in the Canadian merchant marine.

DOCKERS SMELL GRAB

The AFL's "new look" did not impress the New York dockers. These workers smelled the new grab for power by the Hall and Beck machines. In fact, their intentions were so suspect that both Hall and Beck had to take a back seat while the AFL sent in a new figure, Ace Keenan, as front man in its dis-organizing drive. Nevertheless, the Hall and Beck machines stand to gain most with AFL success.

Waterfront workers are not impressed with Hall's denunciation of gangsters and racketeers. Hall tried for years to break into the inner circle of ex-ILA President Joseph "King" Ryan, but never got beyond the waiting room. He did talk the old ILA officials into formation of a Maritime Trades Council, set up primarily for mutual defense of their vested interests and aggression against the CIO maritime unions. But the ILA officials never took much interest in Hall's schemes — they had their own troubles just sitting tight and maintaining control over their empire.

Hall tried to show them new and superior ways to keep their hold in the face of rank-and-file rebellion. Whereas Ryan had Louis Waldman of the old social-democratic school as his principal advisor, Hall had a bag of new tricks, thought up mostly by new and younger social democrats in the N. Y. labor movement. The Ryan gang viewed most of these gimmicks with suspicion but gingerly tried a few, such as occasionally issuing a union paper But rank-and-file insurgence grew. The N. Y. waterfront explosion that came in 1951, the bitterest of all recent anti-Ryan movements, finally made clear that he had lost his usefulness.

When the AFL leaders set up their new organization, they expected that the ILA ranks would desert in mass. Although a number of locals went over to the AFL, a majority stayed with the old ILA. **A major reason was the dockers' hostility to the new state-controlled and regimented hiring set up which had initial AFL support.**

SUPERB DEMONSTRATION

The present combativity of the New York longshoremen against every agency trying to beat them down is a superb demonstration. These dockers fought the gangsters on their backs for years, when the present unholy alliance defended the parasites. Today the gangster elements inside the old ILA are fighting their competitors, and thus must go along with the militant rank-and-file upsurge. But the gangsters' days are numbered. The rank and file can only come out of this present great fight with new confidence in their strength.

California AFL Calls Emergency Jobless Parley

LOS ANGELES, March 26.— Highlighting action to deal with the sharp rise of unemployment in the state, the California State Federation of Labor has called a week-long emergency conference in Santa Barbara, April 25 to 30.

This unusual step is being taken to work out a program to combat the serious jobless situation among the state's 1,500,000 AFL members, said the Federation's Executive Secretary C. J. Haggerty. He called on all AFL local central bodies and affiliates in California to send delegates to the conference, which will be held in Santa Barbara's Samarkand Hotel.

The AFL call was issued shortly after government figures revealed that unemployment in the state had soared to 299,000, an increase of 147% over the Oct. 1953 level.

LOCAL UAW PARLEY

In the meantime, locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers in this area have held an unemployment conference, called on the initiative of General Motors South Gate Local 216. The delegates hailed the projected AFL state conference and urged the State CIO Council to take similar action and to work for joint action with the AFL.

The area UAW conference proposed a special national UAW convention to deal with the unemployment situation. It called for reopening of contracts and institution of the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay.

In order to enable the UAW locals here to coordinate their activities in the fight against unemployment, the conference constituted itself as a permanent body.

IUE Wins Legal Test on 'Security' Firings at Sperry

NEW YORK March 30. — A New York state supreme court justice ruled against the Sperry Corporation's contention that it had the right to fire "security risks" in disregard of the union contract. The corporation had fired a group of workers as "security risks" and was challenged by the IUE-CIO Local 450.

Demanding that the company conform to contract provisions which provide for arbitration, the IUE put itself on record as considering all security firings as union grievances. The company responded by seeking an injuction in the Supreme Court.

In a statement to its 11,000 members working at Sperry's the officers of Local 450 hailed the court's decision as a "slap at Sperry." The statement pointed out that the regulations of the Security Board did not require Corporations to fire "security risks."

This limited legal victory comes as a result of the stiffening attitude taken by the IUE toward the spreading witch hunt in the electrical industry. The union busting implications of the corporation's use of "security firings" has stirred the union ranks.

In a recent conference on civil rights organized by the IUE, Al Hartnett, vice-president of the IUE, reported on the union's stand in defense of "security fired" workers. However, recent evidence suggests that the worker seeking such union support will first be screened by the union officials.

Reuther Strikes Low Blow at "30 for 40"

On March 18 the Pennsylvania CIO convention unanimously urged its affiliated unions to fight this year for contracts granting the 30-hour week "with no reduction in pay." This is the latest in a series of actions by labor bodies looking for an effective program to combat spreading unemployment.

But the program for the 30-hour week 40 hours pay, which won the formal support of the AFL at its last national convention, is bitterly opposed by the top leadership of the CIO, and was publicly condemned, in New York on March 23 by CIO President Walter Reuther after a two-day meeting of the CIO Executive Board.

Reuther, as reported in the March 24 N.Y. Times, "said a cut in the basic 40-hour standard would simply mean 'sharing the scarcity' when the country's real need was for more purchasing power, not more leisure."

This is dishonest because it misrepresents the demand for the 30-hour week as one that would involve a corresponding reduction in pay. With few exceptions of a local and temporary character, nobody in the labor movement is asking for a 30-hour week at 30 hours pay. The demand is for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Reuther is lying when he says a reduced work week would mean "sharing the scarcity." He is consciously distorting when he implies that the motive behind this demand is "more leisure."

On the contrary, it is Reuther's own policy which leads to and strengthens "sharing the scarcity." By opposing the 30-for-40 demand at a time when many plants are working four or less days a week, he blocks the only program that can maintain the workers' wages and living standards in a period of recession.

Moreover, as previous articles in this paper have demonstrated, the goal of Reuther's guaranteed annual wage plan, which is his alternative to the 30-for-40 demand, is to win for a PART of the auto workers the guarantee of work and pay for only PART of the present 40-hour work week. **In practice, his GAW plan will be lucky to achieve even the 30-hour week at 30 hours pay if it goes into effect in a period of economic crisis.**

The dangers in Reuther's GAW plan are recognized by everyone familiar with its details. Rank and Filer, published by the Rank and File Caucus of UAW Local 216, South Gate, Calif., writes:

"We predict that unless (Reuther's GAW) plan covers all the workers on the basis of 52 weeks at a wage commensurate with the high cost of living, it will only add to the ever increasing list of unemployed. This means that we must wage a fight for a more realistic approach, one that will keep us on our jobs right now. This can be accomplished by 30-40, the 30 hour week with 40 hours pay."

A poor and weak GAW plan, such as is projected by Reuther, can do more harm than good. But not even the best and most thorough GAW plan is a substitute for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Reuther only confuses the question when he poses one against the other. The truth is that 30-for-40 and a broad GAW plan are both needed in labor's struggle against unemployment and insecurity.

The reason why Reuther insists on his GAW plan and opposes 30-for-40 is that he knows 30-for-40 cannot be won except by the most aggressive struggle against the capitalists while he hopes that they will consent without too much trouble to some watered-down version of the GAW, which he would then hail as evidence of his own "labor statesmanship."

... Do a Frisco Job

(Continued from page 1)

week for untold millions of workers."

At a luncheon meeting with a group of anti-McCarthy students, Weiss discussed the daily increasing menace of academic freedom created by the witch hunt.

Here on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, a new stoolpigeon system has been established to curtail free expression. It is known as the "Contact man" or "C-man" system. Under it an agent has been officially installed on the campus to check all "subversive activities" of the students and professors alike. Everyone on the campus is urged to turn over "information" on possible "subversives" to him for forwarding to "proper authorities."

RADIO INTERVIEW

Interviewed over station KPFA in Berkeley on March 29, Weiss presented the Socialist Workers analysis of McCarthyism, the drive towards World War III, and the growing prospects for world socialism.

During his stay in the Bay Area, Weiss addressed a meeting in Berkeley of University of California students. In an extended discussion period the main center of interest was the question of whether or not McCarthy represents a menace of a genuinely fascist nature.

Explaining that a rising fascist movement did not necessarily require all of the traditional trimmings of the movement as it came to power in Italy, Spain and Germany, the speaker hammered home the fact that differences of opinion on this did not lessen the need to smash McCarthyism.

"When you see a man coming at you with a knife in his hand," he said, "you don't wait to ask his intentions, you fight back. And that's the situation with McCarthy. We can have differences as to the exact stage of development of his movement, but if we don't fight him now, our differences on the nature of the beast won't matter. We won't be here."

Notes from the News

MORE THAN 1,000 MEN lined up in New York March 29 to apply for 500 summer jobs policing city parks. The jobs pay $7.80 a day. The scramble on the first of three application days equalled last year's total three-day turnout.

* * *

"PITEOUSLY INADEQUATE," the phrase used by CIO Vice Pres. James G. Thimmes before the Senate Banking Committee to describe Eisenhower's housing program, was something of an understatement. According to the March 26 newsletter of the National Housing Conference, "Now we have the unequivocal word of the House Appropriation Committee that when existing contracts (which provide for only 35,000 housing units — Ed.) have been honored, the public housing program will be dead." The newsletter adds, "That will be the final chapter unless friends of housing wherever they are, rise up and fight once more for this program."

* * *

COLLECTION AGENCIES BOOMING. On the basis of a 13-city survey, the March 24 Wall Street Journal reports that the number of people unable to keep up with loan and installment plan payments is far above last year's level and still rising. A spokesman for a Chicago collection agency said: "In the last 30 to 60 days there has been a terrific increase in the number of accounts turned over to us for collection. In 27 years in the business I've never seen anything like it."

* * *

N. Y. POLICE TO BAN MAY DAY PARADE. Police Commissioner Adams will refuse to issue a permit for a May Day parade, reports the March 12 World-Telegram. Last year a parade permit was denied but one was issued for a meeting in Union Square, traditional wind-up point of past May Day parades. However, the N. Y. Times of March 14 reports that the Police Dept. will issue a permit for a "Loyalty Day Celebration" in Union Square. The "loyalty" demonstration is sponsored by business men in the area to establish "a monopoly of Union Square by patriotic Americans citizens, thus making this historic site unavailable for the rabble-rousing elements."

* * *

"LABOR'S FRIEND," Mayor Wagner of New York, elected with the blessing of the union bureaucrats and Stalinists has announced that beginning July 1, New York consumers will be hit with a broadening of the city sales tax. Now to be included in the 3% tax bite will be commercial services such as home electrical and plumbing repairs, TV and radio servicing, special checking accounts, auto repairs, moving van service, etc. Wagner's Tammany boss, Carmine DeSapio, who declared loudly for the repeal of the sales tax while Tammany was out of office, hastened to announce his support of the Mayor's move.

* * *

"A COMBINATION OF UNFORESEEN CIRCUMSTANCES," McCarthy said on March 27, made it necessary for him to cancel an April 20 speaking engagement in Toronto Canada. On the same day the Labor Press Assn. reported from Toronto that the group which had invited the fascist Senator up there had been able to raise only $200 towards the $1,750 rental for the arena they had engaged. An additional cost item would have been the $1,500 the demagogue charges for each appearance.

* * *

MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY or any other organization deemed to advocate the "overthrow" of the government, will constitute a crime for members of the armed forces, if a bill introduced in Congress March 29 by Rep. Vinson (D., Ga.) is passed. Violators would be subject to court martial with maximum punishment set by the President.

... World Terrorized

(Continued from page 1)

"On a flood tide the danger would be multiplied. The depth of the sea between Dover and France is from 10 to 20 fathoms. **Such a bomb dropped in these narrows would destroy the continental shelf and flood from Holland to the North seaboard of France with radio-active water. River fish would be inedible. Even chunks of Britain may be destroyed as the island in the Pacific was."**

The science editor of London's Liberal News Chronicle noted that the 450-mile radius of the danger area surrounding the test islands in the Pacific is as vast as the whole British Isles, half of France, all of Holland and Belgium and Germany as far east as Frankfurt.

So great has the opposition to the U.S. H-bomb policy become in England that the Laborite London Daily Herald has demanded that the U.S. cease all H-bomb tests before it turns the whole Pacific into a "source of peril." It brushed aside as a "lazy minded politicians' alibi" Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's childish argument that the very destructiveness of the H-Bomb would deter its use.

If the British are so disturbed and terrified, imagine the hatred and fear of U.S. imperialism and its H-bomb in Japan today. Hassell Tiltman, writing from Tokyo in the Manchester Guardian Weekly of March 25 reminds us that "Japan, the first nation to suffer from the atomic bomb in 1945, has provided some of the first victims of the hydrogen bomb in 1954."

Japanese fishing boats as far as 780 miles from the blast on March 1 returned to Japan covered with radio-active particles. On March 30, Japanese health authorities condemned as "harmfully radio-active" a catch of tuna on a fishing boat that was 200 miles away from the blast.

Henry S. Hayward, the Christian Science Monitor's Tokyo correspondent, stated in the March 23 issue that the H-bomb tests remain of "peak interest" in Japan "because it appears obvious that the unexpected extent of the explosion and its aftermath will make vast Pacific tracts dangerous if scheduled tests with larger bombs are carried out.

Not only does this pose a threat to the wide roving Japanese fishermen but further contamination of fish strikes directly at this food-short country's prime source of sustenance."

In other words, the H-bomb tests themselves threaten to destroy Japan's indispensible food supplies and reduce that country to hunger and starvation. Hence the executive board of the General Council of Japanese Labor Unions declared that further bomb tests in the Pacific would "doom the Japanese nation to ruin."

But England and Japan are not alone in their justified fear of the H-bomb. What the American capitalist newspapers cynically call "H-bomb jitters" has spread throughout the world. R. H. Shackford, Scripps-Howard staff writer, reported from Paris on March 27 the "alarm sweeping Europe following developments which . . . are scaring the daylights out of Western Europe." In India, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru added his voice to what the Associated Press on March 29 called "an increasing clamor" everywhere for an end to the H-bomb "experiments."

WALL STREET'S REPLY

Wall Street's answer to this demand of virtually the whole human race that the U.S. halt its deadly dangerous H-bomb tests in the Pacific was to secretly set off a new blast and to announce a bill for a "record" appropriation of $1,061,000,000 "to build better hydrogen and atomic bombs at a sharply stepped-up rate." (United Press, March 26.)

Thus, U.S. capitalism demonstratively renews its threat of world annihilation despite the pleas of all humanity.